

4
21.
Evil not to be done, that Good
may come of it.

Well A Evangelical
SERMON

PREACH'D

January the 30th, 17¹⁶₇₇

AT

St. ETHELBURGA'S.

By LUKE MILBOURNE, Rector of
St. Ethelburga's.

Flectere qui nequeunt Superos, Acheronta movebant.

L O N D O N,

Printed by H. Meere in Black Fryers, for Eliz.
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Romans iii. 8.

And not rather as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do Evil that Good may come of it; whose Damnation is just.

THIS is one of our Political Days; in which we are oblig'd by the Laws of the Church and Kingdom, and by the Instructions of his present Majesty, whether we be such as have the Cure of Souls, or any other Preachers or Readers of Divinity-Lectures, to the uttermost of our Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely and sincerely, without any Colour or Dissimulation, to teach, manifest, open, and declare, in our Sermons, and other Collations and Lectures, that all usurp'd and foreign Power, forasmuch as the same has no Establishment nor Ground by the Law of God, is, for most just Causes, taken away and abolished; and that therefore no manner of Obedience or Subjection, within his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, is due unto any foreign Power; but that the King's Power within his Realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all other his Dominions and Countries, is the highest Power under God; to whom all Men, as well Inhabitants, as those born within the same, do, by God's Laws, owe most Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in the Earth, &c. The Observation therefore of this Day, and keeping it as a Day of solemn Humiliation before God, on Account of one of the blackest and most barbarous Rebellions and Murders that ever the Sun look'd on, is what all pious, prudent, sincere, or real Christians, as knowing what Horrid Guilt these wretched Nations have so long groin'd under, expect with Impatience, that at least they may so far unburthen their Souls, that when that God, to whom Vengeance belongeth, shall make Inquisition for Blood, the Guilt of that innocent Blood which was as on this Day shed, and this Occasion bewair'd, never be laid to their Charge; such Men love to hear of submitting to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or to Governors as those who are sent by him for the Terror of evil Doers, and for the Praise of them who do well. For let the Prince be good or bad in his own Temper, those who

do Ill will be afraid of him ; because, how much soever he seems to favour them, he can, upon any sudden Caprice of his own, let loose the Laws upon them, and crush them in Pieces ; while every one, even a *Tyrant himself*, will praise them who do well : And tho', for what they call *Reason of State*, or, as they imagine, for the securing to themselves their ill-gotten Advantages, they are under a Necessity of frowning on them, they cannot but set an high Esteem upon their Virtues, and wish, even when they take their Lives, that all their own Servants were such as they, and their Names and their Memories are reflected on with Blessings by succeeding Generations.

But on the other Hand, Rebels, Villains, Atheists, Murderers, Out-laws, Men of desperate Fortunes, Jesuited Papists, Phanaticks of all Sorts, and Men of discontented and unquiet Spirits, hate to hear their dear Brethren in Iniquity reflected on, their old hellish Doctrines and devilish Practices ripp'd up and laid open before the present Generation, lest our *British Israel* should hear and fear, and recover their Wits, and not be perswaded to do so wickedly as they have done, any more. These Men can't bear the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* ; they have been inur'd so long to resist and defy the Will and Counsel of God, and are so ready to *abdicate him*, that he may not any longer rule over them ; that to talk of their Fidelity and Obedience to the best of Men, and the most rightful Governors in the World, is to *cast Pearls before Swine, and holy Things to Dogs* ; who, instead of growing the better for serious Admonitions, and unanswerable Arguments, will, if they any Way can, turn upon you, and rend you. This, those who have the Cure of Souls, and dare to discharge their Trust with Faithfulness and Courage, must look for, but they must discharge their Duties resolutely still ; they must submit to be made the Songs of Drunkards, the Laughing-stocks of Atheists, the Scorn of Republicans and Rebels, and the unquestionable Enemies of those who are given to change ; and while the *honest and Christian Part of the Clergy* dehort People from Sedition, Faction, Insurrections, and Rebellions, whether such Wretches or their Favourers take it well or ill, they still discharge their own Consciences, and leave the Sons of *Belial* to perish in their own Perverseness.

But ill Men, when they have nothing else to plead for themselves, when they have no Defence for their own
scandalous

scandalous and damnable Practices, and when their Brains and Tongues run not against the Men of *real Conscience*; suppose they may come off at last, in the Opinion of the charitable and credulous World, by pretending that what they do, they do for the *publick Good*; if they do that which is in it self evil and unjustifiable, they do it only that *Good may come of it*; that is, they act like those perjur'd Atheists who bring us in every Week, almost, an Account of such as *hang, or shoot, or stab, or drown themselves, or cut their own Throats, being Lunatick*, that they may procure Christian Burial for the miserable Self-murderer, and preserve the forfeited Part of his Estate for the Benefit of his Heirs and Successors. And are not these brave and generous Souls with a Vengeance? Are not they like to have abundance of Tendernefs for the *publick Good*, who have not any for *their own*? I know we have of late Years blotted a great many out of the black Catalogue of Sins, such as *cursing their rightful Sovereign, Rebellion, Murder, Heresy, Schism, Sacrilege, &c.* and seditious Writings, and Insinuations, and rebellious Practices, and Resistance of the lawful supreme Power by Force of Arms, and Subjects neither fearing God, nor honouring the King, but delighting in the Society of those who are given to change, &c. are look'd upon and discour'd of as brave Actions; and Coercion and Abdication of Kings, are canoniz'd and sanctify'd as Virtues, and highly meritorious, even by Episcopal Hands. But whatever the Pope, by Virtue of the *Plenary of his Power*, may do, according to the Positions of the *Canonists*, we are perswaded that no *private Judgment*, built upon *Hobbian or Atheistical Principles*, can make Virtues Vices, or Vices Virtues: And we are as thoroughly convinc'd, that we cannot, without the most extreme and damnable Guilt, do those Things, which Scripture or common Sense have declar'd to be sinful, tho' all the Prelates in *Christendom* should take upon them to assail us; tho' we pretend never so seriously, that we do them only that *Good*, nay, that *universal Good* may come of it. And this we shall endeavour to prove from these Words of the Apostle, *And not rather as we are slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do Evil that Good may come of it, whose Damnation is just.*

Which Words have a very near Dependence upon what went before. St. Paul was employ'd in preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, and, by God's Blessing on his Ministry,

Multitudes

*Multitudes were daily added to the Church of such as should be
 sav'd. The Jews were enrag'd both at the Undertaking and
 at the Success: The Apostle pleads ancient Prophecies, by
 which the Messiah was to be a Light to lighten the Gentiles;
 as well as to be the Glory of God's People, Israel. The Jew-
 ish Sticklers charg'd St. Paul with little less than Lying, or
 giving false Interpretations of what the Prophets had deli-
 ver'd; the Apostle supposes that the visible Conversion
 of so many to the Acknowledgement of the true God,
 could not but tend much to his Honour; and if by his Lye,
 or by his unrighteous Practice in preaching to the Gentiles,
 God was glorify'd, he asserted it must be very unreasonable
 that he, or any of his Fellow Labourers in the Gospel,
 should be condemn'd or censur'd by the Jews. The Jews,
 tho' their chief Priests, and Scribes, and Pharisees rejected
 the Gospel, and pursu'd St. Paul from Place to Place, that
 they might hinder his Success so far as contradicting and
 blaspheming, and raising Persecution against him, could do it;
 yet because the Temple of the Lord was among them, look'd
 upon themselves as more proper Objects of the Messiah's
 Care, (if Jesus was the Messiah) than any other, since
 God's Name was call'd upon by them, he had committed his
 Oracles to them, they were in Covenant with him, and by
 the Confession of their Jesus himself, Salvation was of the
 Jews. Since they then were the People of God, the Lot
 of his Inheritance, they must of Course be the holiest,
 the most innocent, the farthest from trespassing against the
 Laws of God, and consequently the fittest Objects of
 divine Grace, besides those innumerable Promises made to
 their Tribes, that his Birth, who was the promis'd Messiah,
 was to be from among them, and among them the King-
 dom of the Messiah, when he came indeed, was to be first
 set up: But now, if the Apostles of this Jesus, whom
 they call'd the Messiah, the Christ, the Son of David, the
 Saviour of Israel; if they, their Country-men, Partakers
 of the same common Hope with them, could turn from
 them, and bestow their Labours upon the Gentiles, and
 the Gentiles were greater Sinners than they (the Lord's pe-
 culiar People) could possibly be, and yet the Grace of God
 was extended so largely to them, and the suppos'd Messiah
 took such extraordinary Care for their Conversion; then
 they, tho' God's People, had cleans'd their hearts in vain,
 and wash'd their Hands in Innocency; in vain had they
 convers'd daily with the Writings of Moses and the Prophets;
 in*

in vain had they study'd, and with the greatest Nicety imaginable, observ'd all the Ceremonies prescrib'd from Mount Sinai, and endeavour'd to keep the Commandments written in the two Stone-Tables by the Finger of God himself, since the *Gentiles*, those great Sinners, Creatures without the Knowledge of God, Strangers to the Covenant, and Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel; Creatures without God, without Hope, were become the Favourites of this pretended Messias, and therefore the greater Favourites because the greater Sinners; for it appear'd plainly to be a fundamental Maxim of the Doctrine of Christianity, as St. Paul held it forth, that it was both religious and lawful to do Evil, that Good may come of it; that the *Gentiles* by doing Evil, were so far from perishing in that Evil, that they far'd the better, and were the nearer Objects of Mercy for it.

This Notion the Jewish Priests, who were Enemies to the Gospel, endeavour'd to propagate by all Means; and that Evil might be done, that Good might come of it, that Men might sin the more audaciously, that they might be the surer Partakers of divine Grace and Mercy, was a Supposition so scandalous in it self, and so disagreeable to the common Sentiments of Mankind, that whosoever should be found to espouse such a Maxim, must needs grow odious, on that very Reason, to all the thinking World: This Maxim therefore they endeavour'd to fasten upon St. Paul in particular, as the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, and thro' him on all those who by his Preaching should be converted to the Holy Jesus. This malicious Imputation St. Paul vindicates himself and the converted *Gentiles* from; he does not deny but that they had been great and grievous Sinners; that yet God had Mercy on them, and had call'd them Home to himself by Jesus Christ; but that the *Gentiles* were greater Sinners than the Jews, was what the Jews, with all their Pride and Self-conceit, could never prove. Those are the greatest and most provoking Sinners, who have the best Means and Opportunity of knowing the Will and Pleasure of their Maker, and yet take no Care to observe it. Such Means the Jews had long and happily enjoy'd, and yet had been perpetual and harden'd Rebels: Such Means the poor *Gentiles* had wanted, and yet had kept themselves more within the Bounds of Virtue and Sobriety, than the Jews themselves had; so that if any had acted upon that abominable Principle, that it was lawful to do Evil, that Good might come of it, it was evident these

these stiff-necked *Jews* were the very Persons; but it was the highest Scandal and Blasphemy to fix it on those who were converted to Christianity among the *Gentiles*. The *Jews*, tho' so great and inexcusable Sinners, were yet so highly conceited of *their own Righteousness*, that those who follow'd the *Pharisaical Mode*, claim'd an Interest in the *Messias*, as of *Right*, without any Acknowledgement of their extream Demerits; whose Humour our Saviour represented under the Person of the *Pharisee in the Parable*. The *Gentiles*, conscious of their own Unworthiness, upon the first Approach of the glad Tidings of Salvation, came in with all Humility, and confess'd their Sins, and admir'd and ador'd the Tendries of Mercy made to them, and begg'd with the greatest Earnestness and Importunity, that *they* might be admitted to it; and their Case was laid down under the Character of the *poor humble Publican*: And were not these much more likely to be justify'd, than the others? Upon these Considerations our Apostle charges them who aspers'd him, as preaching to the *Gentiles*, and the *Gentiles* as submitting to that Gospel which he preach'd, as acting upon that *wicked Principle of doing Evil, that Good might come of it, with Blasphemy*; for so the original Word in the Text properly signifies, which we too softly render *slanderosly*: 'For Blasphemy' is speaking falsely and impiously against either God or Man, especially in any Thing that may reflect upon the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, or the Dignity, the Reputation, or the Honesty of any Man. This Blasphemy is a Crime of the highest Nature, and which the malicious Tongues and Pens of Men of irreligious, factious, and atheistical Persons are every Day guilty of, and sleep upon it as quietly as if they had drunk Opium, and were never to be awak'd out of it, but by the Torments of Hell. Now, the *Sum* of what the Apostle asserts in the Text, is this,

1. That *whosoever maintains it to be lawful to do Evil, that Good may come of it, is worthy of Damnation.*
2. That *whosoever imputes any such Principle to the Doctrine of Christianity, is guilty of damnable Blasphemy.*
3. That *whosoever in any Case whatsoever acts upon any such Principle, that Persons Damnation is just.*
1. *Whosoever maintains that it's lawful to do Evil, that Good may come of it, that Person maintains that it's lawful in some Cases to do Evil, or to commit Sin; for Sin will be Sin, whatever the Motives to it may be, and Sin is the Transgression*

gression of the Law; and the Wages of Sin is Death, Death eternal, as well as temporal: Therefore whoever would have us believe that it's lawful to do Evil, would have us believe it's lawful for us to damn our selves; and if he could prove it comfortable too, he may do Miracles. Besides this, whatever the pretended Aim and Intention of the Agent may be, it's impossible that Good should be the genuine and natural Consequence of any evil Action whatsoever; so that it only argues the greatest Folly in the World, for any to promise themselves any good Consequences from any of their unlawful Practices. It's true, the infinite Wisdom of God can, and frequently does, bring Good out of Evil; but he hates the Obliquity of that Action; and therefore, when any Good follows upon a sinful Action, God does not approve the Action by Blessing it, as some fancy, but he alters the natural Tendency of it, and orders Matters so as to convince the Agents of their extream Folly in pretending to direct the Events of such Things as are not in their Power.

2. Again, whoever imputes any such Principle as *That it's lawful to do Evil, that Good may come of it*, to the Religion of Jesus Christ, that Person is guilty of damnable Blasphemy, since he imputes a Principle inconsistent with the Nature of God, with the Reason of Mankind, and with whatever has any Representation of serious Religion in it, be it true or false, and with that holy Religion, in the submitting to which alone, since the Incarnation of the Son of God, Salvation can be obtain'd: What those Principles infus'd with the rational Soul into Man, were too weak to do, viz. to secure him fully against the Violence of Temptation, which, while he had Enemies in the World, he was liable to, that the *explicite Law of God*, as given to Adam first, enlarg'd to Noah after the Flood, and more fully laid before the House of Israel in that Law given them from Sinai by the Hands of Moses, as a Mediator, was given to bring to pass more effectually; and what the *Mosaic Law* fail'd in, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ was intended to make up, that a complete Rule, by which Men, obeying it, might be able to stand against all the Insults of Hell, might not be wanting; which Rule, tho' no Man in the present corrupt State of Nature can ever wholly come up to, yet, by that Rule, humbly and impartially consider'd, he may learn the Difference between *Virtue and Vice*, between *Obedience and Transgression*, and must neces-

fairly conclude that no Sin committed by him can be excus'd upon Account of any Good, either *private* or *publick*, pretended to be aim'd at by him in the Doing, or is pardonable on any such Plea; but only that it may be expiated possibly by *sincere and hearty Repentance* of the Wickedness committed, and by *Faith in the Blood of a suffering Saviour*; which alone is able to cleanse us from all Sin. But to impute such a *hellish Principle* to the Doctrine of the Gospel, as if it either approv'd of, or so much as conniv'd at it, is such *notorious Blasphemy* both against Christianity, and the blessed Founder of that holy Religion, as is in it self unpardonable, and consequently the Case of all such as upon any such Pretence, break any of the *least* of Christ's Commandments, and teach Men so, must be desperate. We see how far our Saviour, in his Sermon on the Mount, extends the Meaning of the Commandments. Every one who encourages the unthinking Part of Mankind to limit the Import of those Precepts to a narrower *Compass*, takes Pains to damn himself & those who *mind* what he preaches, or *regard* what he writes.

3. But, when the Sophistry of atheistical Wits prevails upon any so far as to make them conclude it *lawful to do Evil, that Good may come of it*, and that the Doctrine of Christianity does really allow of it, and consequently the Person so perswaded acts freely on such a Principle, and makes over his Soul to the Devil accordingly, for the common Good, the Damnation of such a Wretch, tho' the Arguments which brought him to it, be never so nice and intricate, *must necessarily be just*: As in the State of Nature, when Men kept no Guard upon themselves, when *None restrain'd the Man, But wild thro' Woods the noble Savage ran*, as the pious * Poet has it, and so was frequently over-power'd, knock'd o'th Head, and it may be eaten clandestinely, by a stronger Savage of his own Kind, tho' it was a very wicked Thing for a Man to murder a Man when there were so few of them in the World; yet certainly it was a brave and generous Piece of Villany, for Cain to murder his own Brother; which Circumstance wonderfully enhaunc'd the Glory of the Action, tho' without all Question he was damn'd for ever for his Pains, because it oblig'd Men the more powerfully to form to themselves proper Schemes of Government, and distinguishing themselves into *Superiors and Inferiors, Magistrates and Subjects*, as necessary for common Security; since without some *coercive Laws* to prevent it, Brother

Brother might murder Brother very innocently to the End of the Chapter: And was not the *Benefit of Civil Government* so great, as might deserve to be purchas'd at the Price of a thousand such Souls as that of *Cain*? And are not the *Order of Cainites*, or wilful and bloody Murderers as *Cain* was, kept up at this Day at an inconceivable Expence of Lives and Souls, in spite of Government?

Such another heroick Villain was *Judas the Traitor*: Had not the Son of God made Man, been crucify'd, he could not have dy'd that Death which *ancient Prophecies* had doom'd him to: Had he not been betray'd by one of his own Family, he could not have been crucify'd: Had he not been crucify'd, and so dead and bury'd, the guilty World must have perish'd without Remedy: Now, when it was so hard to find one wicked enough in our Lord's Family as betray him, that the Devil could meet with but one Bolson great enough to receive him, and that of *Judas Iscariot*, whose Intrepidity equal'd that of the greatest General before a Battle: Was it not brave in him to venture upon the almost unparallell'd Action? *Judas* had been Partaker of his heavenly Instructions long; had seen those Miracles evidencing his divine Nature, beyond all Expectation, with his own Eyes; he had eaten of his Master's Bread; had liv'd under the irresistible Protection of his gracious Power; and had carry'd himself so smoothly in his Trust, that tho' his Master (who knew his Heart) saw the Devil in him, his fellow Disciples had no Suspicion of him. In short, tho' *Judas* had all the Obligations to Fidelity which the best of Masters could lay upon the most deserving of Ministers; yet, rather than the perishing World should be undone for want of a sufficient propitiatory Sacrifice to divert the Fury of immense Justice, *Judas* broke thro' all Obligations, and all Considerations whatsoever, cancell'd with his own Hands all the Bonds of Honesty and Fidelity, and boldly put his Soul into the Hands of the Devil, that he as far as possible might contribute in his Way to the Redemption of Mankind. It's true; that to tarnish the Glory of his Achievement, *Mahammed* would not have his Followers believe that God would permit so holy a Person as the blessed *Jesus*, to be murder'd by so inconsiderable and so ungrateful a People as the *Jews* were. And some among our selves would abate of the Greatness of *Judas's* Merit, by denying that the holy *Jesus* was God as well as Man; and, it may be, bear themselves as high upon

their own denying the Lord who bought them, as those who made a Saint of Judas for his Treason, did their Master for his prodigious Enterprize: Judas in his Zeal for the publick Good, forgot the Case of him who should betray him, viz. That it would have been better for him if he had never been born; which carry'd with it a terrible Innuendo. And those, that they may set off divine Mercy and their own great Sense with the more Advantage, can't believe either that God had any Son coequal and coeternal with himself; or that, if he had, there was any need that he should take human Nature upon him, to suffer in it for the Sins of Mankind. Now, to save Mankind, and to save God's Honour too, without the Suffering of the Son of God, and to be sure that the Son of God should be fairly put into the Hands of Sinners, that he might die for Mankind, tho' they seem to be very different Designs, yet since they both seem to tend so much to the Good of the Publick, tho' carry'd on by never so wicked Ways, must not, according to some Mens Principles, be evil spoken of.

Tho' Lawfulness of doing Evil, that Good may come of it, has been one of the best Pleas that has been made for that monstrous Rebellion on which was ingrafted the barbarous and unnatural Murder of the most truly pious and excellent Prince who ever sway'd the Scepter of these Kingdoms: For tho' we have those barefac'd Villains, who will defend Rebellion and Murder at any Rate; who will make every single Person a competent Judge of the Demerits of the supreme Governor, and of any Encroachments on the fundamental Constitutions of these Kingdoms; and if they are but Cowards enough to see the Destruction of the whole Nation coming on at 500 Years Distance, (for Cowardise and a guilty Conscience go a great Way to build up a cruel and an unmerciful Rebel, or a Defender of those who are and have been such) or Knaves enough to scare others out of their Wits with the Apprehensions of such approaching Evils as they don't believe one Word of themselves, and therefore pretend to make the Deposition and Murder of lawful sovereign Princes, not only lawful, but meritorious; and tho' a long List of Rebellions and Insurrections, either in Heathen or Christian Countries, be thought a very good Evidence that our Fore-fathers were absolute Strangers to Religion and common Honesty, and an Induction of numerous Particulars of the same kind, be a sufficient Justification of the Deposition and Murder of Charles the Martyr, or the Abdication

or *Exclusion* of any of his lawful Descendants ; yet we have some who have *Consciences*, and have founded their better *Notions* upon the plain and unwrested Dictates of the infallible Word of God ; who cannot be perswaded, but that in all *Rebellions* there are abundance of scandalous Sins committed by the rebelling Party, and those so notorious and inexcusable, that it's impossible to defend them : And such as these can never be satisfy'd, unless it can be prov'd, that where a great and good End is really propos'd, *Christianity* allows us to go to the Devil for Means to attain it ; and that those brave Souls deserve well of their Country, and ought to be gratefully commemorated for *Patriots*, and if a good Opportunity be offer'd, to be sainted, who fairly and freely sell themselves to the Devil for God's Sake, or to obtain that which they call the *Publick Good*.

Now, that a great and good End was by the *Rebels* of 41 propos'd to themselves, and which tended extremely to the Good of the Publick, is what is pleaded for them by Men of the same Principles at this Day ; and they think they may justly pretend to be extraordinary *Promoters* of the common Good, who couch'd all their Complaints under these three very popular Heads, the *Danger of Religion* as reform'd from *Popery* in these Nations, the arbitrary *Encroachments upon the Liberties* of the People, and their *Properties* ; three the dearest Things, to *English-men* especially, that can be thought of. That *Charles the Martyr* was a tyrannical Invader of every one of these, was the Charge laid against him by the mercenary *Trumpeters of Sedition* in these Days, and urg'd as sufficient Grounds for their forcible Opposition to their lawful Sovereign, and all the dreadful Consequences of it ; we'll consider each of them briefly and impartially.

1. Religion, as founded on the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, is the most precious Jewel that any People or Nation can be bless'd with : This Religion had, by the wonderful Goodness of God, been planted in this particular Nation very early, and if not by an *Apostle*, which is very probable, yet certainly by *Apostolical Men*, and Britain had its *Martyrs* and *Confessors* to adorn the *Diptychs* of the Church. This pure and undefil'd Religion, as first planted among us, was, in a long Course of Years, disturb'd by *Arianism*, infected by *Pelagionism*, and overwhelm'd at last, tho' gradually, by the *superstitious Usurpations and abominable Idolatry* of the Church of Rome : But God, in his own Time, was

was pleas'd to rescue us from *Papish Idolatry*, as he had done from that of *Paganism* before; and to raise up Men of incomparable Courage and Piety, who, without breaking in upon that Form of Government which our Saviour and his Apostles had appointed in his Church, laid open the Errors and Abuses of the Synagogue of *Rome*, furnish'd us with such a Liturgy as was proper to retrieve the Spirit of sincere and primitive Devotion and Holiness; and took Care that the pure and uncorrupted Doctrine of the Gospel should be preach'd, by Persons lawfully commission'd, in every Quarter of the Land. The Dawn of such a Reformation appear'd in the Reign of *Henry* the 8th, we enjoy'd a clearer Light of it under *Edward* the 6th. The Sky was clouded for a while under his unhappy Sister *Mary*, but shone out again with an invidious Lustre in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, his other Sister, in the peaceable Reign of *James* the 1st, and in that of *Charles* the 1st, of blessed Memory, with a yet more vigorous Brightness, the unfeign'd Piety and Devotion of the Sovereign giving a new Life to declining Piety, and exciting every sincere Christian to a cheerful Imitation. This was the State of Things in those Days.

That Religion thus reform'd, should be valu'd above all Things in this World, was highly reasonable. The Prince, in the Event, prov'd himself thoroughly prepar'd to Die a Martyr for it; nay, and I have heard a zealous Puritan declare, that he did not doubt but that that violently persecuted Arch-bishop *Land*, however charg'd with *Papish* Irreligions, would have burn'd at a Stake, rather than have been reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. And we have very good Assurance, that many of the Bishops and inferior Clergy of that Age, were in the same Sentiments: That the Nation in general look'd on themselves, on account of the Nature and Compleatness of our Reformation, and the numerous Securities of Law for its Protection, as more happy than any of its Neighbours, is not to be wonder'd at; but true Love to Christian Religion consists not so much in giving it good Words, as in living according to its Prescriptions. Popery, as contradistinguish'd from uncorrupted Christianity, was a King-killing, King-deposing, rebellious Religion, and so represented to us by all the true Friends of the Reformation; and under that Character was justly expos'd to the Hatred of every good Christian. Our Reformers taught Loyalty, Fidelity, and Submission to all lawful

lawful Governors, to the Froward as well as to the Gentle, to the Papist as well as to the Enemies of Popery, to the Bad as well as to the Good; and when they compos'd their excellent *Homilies of Obedience to Governors, and against Rebellion*, they as little thought that those *Homilies* should come to be read backward, as they tell us *Witches say their Prayers*, as St. Paul could suppose any who call'd themselves Christians, would press his Discourse in the 13th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, to defend *Rebels*, and maintain the *Doctrine of Resistance*. And such Loyalty as our first Reformers taught, and as they practis'd both under *Hen. 8th* and *Q. Mary*, was the true distinguishing Test between a real Papist, by what Name soever he calls himself, and a faithful Son of the reform'd Church of England. That Charles the 1st was an Enemy to our reform'd Religion, and that he design'd to introduce *Popery* and *Arminianism*, was the Cry of those Days, and *Arminianism* is still as near a-kin to *Popery* as it was then; and to prevent these fatal Designs, it was necessary for some to do Evil, and justly to incur Damnation.

2. As for the *Liberties of the People* of these Nations, they are such old Customs and Usages, as have some of them been deriv'd from the ancient Britains, some from the Romans when they had Footing here, some from the Saxons, and some, it may be, from the Danes, while they predominated, and which (being very agreeable to the vulgar Humour, and tending much to the securing of Peace, and Determination of Right) the Norman Conqueror thought fit to indulge and continue. Some of these Liberties were such as were granted by Princes, who having no good Title to the Crown, purchas'd the Favour of the People by parting with some of the Prerogatives of it; as *Hen. 1st*, *Stephen*, *John*, *Hen. 4th*; and these, continu'd by long Custom, are generally known by the Title of *Common Law*, and, it may be, were particularly referr'd to in *Magna Charta* under the Name of *Lex Terræ*. Some of these Liberties were wrested out of the Hands of the Sovereign by Force of Arms, by the rebellious Barons, not English, but French: Such were the *Charta de Forreſta*, and the *Magna Charta*, which have since been confirm'd, the latter especially, by several Kings in numerous Acts of Parliament; the Fetters put upon the Hands of Kings; by which great Charter making them less able to oppose the Encroachments of the Court of Rome, and the suspicious Party, who pretended wonderfully

wonderfully to fear *Tyranny and arbitrary Government*, being always ready to join with the Pope and his most zealous Dependants against the Crown, the *Anathema's of the Church* were frequently thunder'd out against all Infringers of the great Charter in a very solemn Manner, by the *Arch-bishops and their Suffragan Bishops of this Kingdom*. By which Means, the Court of Rome being like to engross all temporal Power among us, and even to excommunicate and depose Kings in *Ordine ad spiritualia*, our *Popish Princes*, with the three Estates in Parliament, were oblig'd to make those famous Statutes of *Provisors* and *Pramunire*, tho' not without some Difficulties from the Clergy; which, tho' not very strictly observ'd, did yet put some considerable Check to the *Papal Power* and *Usurpations*. But as the Immunities of the great Charter were gotten by *rebellious Force* at first, so they have prosper'd accordingly; the *Liberties of the Church* having been entirely slighted, which those *Anathematizing Bishops* were so careful of; tho' they are the *first Things* promis'd to be maintain'd in the great Charter, and every particular *Article* in it relating to the *Lay-Subject*, being, as we all know, broken thro' every Day. Again, some of the Subjects Liberties in this Kingdom have been founded upon *peculiar Statutes*, such as the *Petition of Right*, and the *Act for Triennial Parliaments*, pass'd in the Reign of *Charles 1st*, and the *Habeas Corpus*, and the *Triennial Parliament Act* renew'd of late Years, and kept as strictly as most of the Articles of *Magna Charta*. Now, it's not to be doubted that those Liberties, when obtain'd, and once legally and freely confirm'd, were highly valuable to *English-men*; to endeavour to secure and transmit them to our Posterity in a *regular and christian Way*, is very commendable. *Charles the 1st*, of blessed Memory, was charg'd with Encroachments upon them; whether it was lawful to do Evil, that these Liberties, which were certainly good, might be retriev'd, and whether those who pretended to retrieve them, did not take wicked Courses for that, is the Consideration before us.

3. The next Thing that the Subjects of *England* make a great Noise with, is what they call *Property*. Now, *Property*, as we commonly understand it, according to *Cowel*, is the highest Right that a Man hath or can have to any Thing, and no Way depending upon any other Man's Courtesy; and this, says that Author, none in our Kingdom can be said to have in any Lands or Tenements,

ments, but only the King in the Right of his Crown, because all the Lands throughout the Realm are in the Nature of Fees, and hold either mediately, or immediately from the Crown. This Word, nevertheless, is us'd for that Right in Lands and Tenements that common Persons have, because it importeth as much as *utile Dominium*, i. e. as a Right to all the Profits arising from thence, tho' not *Directum*, or an absolute and independent Right. So that indeed every Man's Property consists in that Right he has to or in his Wife, or Children, or Servants, whom no Man can take from him, or appropriate to himself, according to Law; or to his *House*, which is therefore call'd his *Castle*; or his *Lands, Goods, or Chattels*, which, being capable in his own Person to do, he has by a just and lawful Title *purchas'd* or *inherited* from his Ancestors, and that with so good Security, that the Sovereign himself cannot deprive him or his of it, unless, by some ill Managment of himself, he incurs a Forfeiture of them by Law. Now, this is such a Privilege as the Subject cannot pretend to under absolute and arbitrary Governors, such as are the Monarchs of *Turky, Persia, Indostane, China*, or nearer home, the *French Kings, the German Emperors* in their *hereditary Dominions*, and all the *Sovereign Princes* in that spacious Country, as the *Kings of Prussia, Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, Dukes of Hannover, Palatines of the Rhine, and Landgraves of Hesse, &c.* This Right, or real Property to and in what they possess, doubtless adds very much to the Felicity of *English Subjects*; it lays an extraordinary Obligation upon them to be ready to serve, and assert the Rights of their *lawful Princes* cheerfully and faithfully, since it is by their *Grants and Condescensions*, and under the *Protection of their Laws*, that they enjoy this Property in what they have, against all the Encroachments and Violences of their fellow Subjects; every one's Right to *meum* or *uum*, is determin'd in his Courts, and Justice done to every one according to his *rightful Pretensions*, unless the Ignorance, Partiality, or mercenary Humour of the Judges prevent it, where this Right or Property is *illegally* violated, and such Violations too were charg'd upon the Martyr of this Day. To re-assert and re-settle this Property, is doubtless what tends to the publick Good; to do it in just and regular Methods, argues the Person who attempts it, a Man of a brave and publick Spirit, a true Patriot, a sincere Lover both of his Prince and Country; but whether

ther for the Attainment of this Good, it be lawful to do Evil, or to commit a Sin of any Kind, requires a farther Disquisition.

We see then, that to justify, to stand by, and regularly, and, as Christians, to maintain our *holy Religion, as reform'd from Popery*; to value it above all Things in this World; and to be ready to lay down our Lives; to part with every Thing that's near and dear to us, our Souls only excepted, in Defence of it, is very good; to stand by, and vindicate those *just Liberties and Privileges* which have been deliver'd down to us by our Predecessors, according either to *Common or Statute Law*; and to set a just Value upon the gracious Condescensions of our lawful Sovereigns, and, that for the Sake of the Donors, is very good; to justify, and defend our own, or our fellow Subjects *real Properties* in what they possess under the Protection of the King's Laws, and according to his Laws, so that we, or they, may not, by Fraud or Violence, be robb'd or dispossest of them, all this is very good too; it's what all *good Christians*, all *good Subjects*, all *Divines of Judgment and Sincerity*, all *Sages of the Law*, who understand the Customs and Usages of their Country, who make it their Business and Interest to promote Justice and Equity; nay, what all *good and sober Men* will at all Times commend, and vindicate, as there is Occasion: But, now, where a Charge lies against any Man, justly or unjustly, that he aims at, or endeavours the Destruction of the *reform'd Religion*, and introducing *Popery, Arminianism*, or any other Error or Innovation whatsoever, there those Persons, who pretend to redress that Evil, must be Persons of *real Conscience, steady and unalterable in their religious Principles*; such as will neither be influenc'd by profess'd Papists, nor by *Roman Priests or Jesuits in Clokes, or plain and short Cravats*; they must be such as are zealous Upholders of the *present Constitution and Government of the Church*, both in their *Persons*, and in their *Interests*, who won't be persuaded out of any one Point of Truth, in Favour of a Party, tho' never so numerous or threatening, or of their Leaders; they must be Enemies to *Libertines*, Men of *atheistical or profane Humours*, to *Sacrilege*, or to a general Contempt of, and Indifferency in Religion; the redressing of *Grievances in Religion*, when honestly and lawfully undertaken, is *God's Work*; and we may reasonably expect it should prosper in such Hands as I have mention'd, and in no others.

Again;

Again: Those who take upon themselves, as *Patriots*, to defend and support the *Liberties* of their Brethren, as they charge those, against whom they move with *Oppression and Tyranny*, they must take the utmost Care never to encroach upon any of those *Liberties* themselves; none but *Hypocrites and Impostors* will be guilty themselves of those Crimes, for which they condemn and inveigh against others; those who are true Lovers of their Country, and pretend highly to the removing of Grievances, of extraordinary *Taxes and Impositions*, which, to be sure, are the greatest and heaviest of all other Grievances, as invading deeply, and at once all, both the Liberty and Property of the Subject, must let their fellow-Subjects see nothing but serene and sun-shiny Weather; they must ease them of that Yoke which the Tyranny of others had laid upon their Necks; for, it can never put People into a good Humour, or convince them of the *Integrity* of their Deliverers, if they make their own little Fingers heavier than the suppos'd Tyrants Loins; or, if they whip those with Scorpions, whom the depos'd or abdicated Prince only chastis'd with Rods. It would not be Prudence, should a Dutch or French Privateer take one of our Merchant Ships, or burn some little Village or Gentleman's Seat upon the Coast, presently to raise a mighty Army, and equip, and put to Sea a Fleet of fifty or sixty Men of War, to burn and destroy all they could come at, in Revenge of the Injury, when, it may be, the *Envoy Resident* might, in one short Conference, get entire Satisfaction for the Damage; such a Zeal might have a Shew of Kindness to the suffering Gentleman, or innocent Villagers; but it would be such a Redress of a *private Injury*, as would in a little Time undo the *Publick*: Such Politics are inexcusable in those who set up for Patriots, and all those who make the justest Complaints of the Infringement of their Liberties, may more justly beg of God, that he would deliver them from such Deliverers: The Fable tells us what the Horse got by begging the Man's Assistance against the Hart; and such Counsels very seldom succeed better.

Farther yet: Those who set up to rescue the *Property* of their fellow-Subjects, must be sure to be Men of very clean Hands themselves, who have no Eye to any private Profit or Advantage of their own, but only to the Good of the Publick, and the Safety of their Brethren; they must be able to make such Challenges to all the World, as *Moses*,

and as *Samuel* did to the *People of Israel*, when *Corah* and his *Company* would needs usurp both the *Priesthood* and the *Civil Government*; and, when *Israel*, weary of God's more immediate Government, would needs have a *King*, like their neighbouring Nations, to go in and out before them, whose Honour some very great Men, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, seem to have been very emulous of. The *Gripping*, *Rapacity*, and *Selfishness* of the great Officers of an Imperial Court, are commonly very notorious, and very scandalous; while they take Care only to enrich themselves, and to make their Masters and the Publick Beggars. None can justly find Fault with such as complain of such intolerable Abuses; and they who speak, and who petition the Throne against them, certainly do well; but when those who pretend to mourn over the suffering Publick, and to complain of a present Ministry, have no other Design, but to undermine and expose them, that they themselves may get their Places, and have an Opportunity of fleecing the Publick, as well as their Predecessors, and to build up their own Fortunes and Families upon the Ruins of their Country; such are *Traitors*, and more so than those whom they accus'd before, to their Country and their Sovereign; and a Nation, if they can but think a little, must needs know, that a Swarm of hungry Flies will suck the running Sore more eagerly than those who have satiated themselves by long feeding on it before. Men of this Temper, who study nothing but to engross that to themselves, the Use of which they grudge to others, are no Patriots, no good Commonwealths Men, nor Friends or Guardians of the Property of the Subject.

Now, where these great and popular Undertakers, who, like ambitious and rebellious *Abisalom* or *Jeroboam*, (who pretended so much to ease the People of *Israel* from the Burthens laid upon them by *David* and *Solomon*) will set up for more zealous Patrons of Religion, Liberty, and Property, than either their lawful Princes, or the best inclin'd of their fellow Subjects. The Means they make use of to compass what they pretend to, must be more curiously enquir'd into; and what the Patriots of *Forty One* made use of to repress the Popish and Tyrannical Inclinations of *Charles the first*, of blessed Memory, were such as these.

1. They rais'd rebellious Arms against their King; and when they acknowledg'd the Power of the Militia in these Kingdoms, to be vested in the King only, by the fundamental

mental Laws of our Constitution, they yet, contrary to all Law and Justice, wrested that Power out of his Hand; took upon them, by their own Authority, i.e. without any Authority at all, to put the Kingdom into a *Posture of Defence*, as they call'd it, not against any *foreign Invaders*, (for none of their Neighbours were in a Condition to give them Disturbance) but against the *just Constitution-Power* of their *rightful Sovereign*, whom some of the *leading Factionists* in that unhappy Assembly, had fore-resolv'd to provoke to the utmost; and therefore made such *early Provision* against all Events, that they concluded, with Probability enough, that they should easily crush any Opposition he could make against them at once, and quickly render him only a *lifeless Image of Authority*, if they spar'd his Life. These great Things were not to be done at an Instant, as they very well knew; the *Piety, Prudence, and admirable Temper* of the King, had made his Character too great to be overthrown with a single Blast. This, therefore, they endeavour'd to *blacken* as fast as they could; and, in hopes of some Advantage against him, by his Refusal to redress them, they laid all their *Grievances*, with their utmost Aggravations, not without a notable Mixture of *Romance and Fiction*, in the roughest Terms, before him, and before the whole Nation, that they might render that excellent Prince odious to his People; under whose Government, in spite of all the Mismanagements or Excesses charg'd upon it, they had liv'd for many Years in such *Peace and Plenty*, as they had never enjoy'd before nor since. But that good King redress'd their Grievances so fast, and so freely, that the greater Number of that Parliamentary Assembly were entirely satisfy'd; they knew not what to desire more, they had discharg'd the Trust committed to them by their *Principals*, and suppos'd they might have return'd Home, especially when they had secur'd *Triennial Parliaments*, with the Favour of their Sovereign, and the Blessings and Applauses of their Fellow-Subjects. But this was very far from the Thoughts of the *intriguing Faction*: The King was resolv'd *he wou'd be King still*, and that he would govern only by Law, and assert his *Prerogative Royal* no farther than that would justify it. They resolv'd *he should not be King*, that he should have *no Prerogative at all*, that no Law should secure him from their Violence and Insolencies, and went so far at last, as, by a *never equall'd tyrannical Arbitrariness*, to declare, that, for the Future, *nothing should be deem'd*

deem'd to be Law, however it had been enacted and practis'd upon in former Times, but what should be declar'd to be Law by the two Houses; which were no more a Parliament, since neither the King, nor the Lords spiritual, had any Concern among them, either by Commission or by Proxies, than a City Common-Council are, or a Court of Assistants in an incorporated Company. In Prosecution of their wicked Purposes, the two Houses rais'd a numerous Army; nam'd a General; provided and commission'd him and his Officers; seiz'd his Majesty's Lands, Revenues, Castles, Magazines, Fleets; left him no Choice, but to withdraw from his Royal Palaces near London, to be rudely affronted every Day by the Mob, or to surrender himself a Prisoner. The first he chose, and found such a Spirit of Loyalty still surviving in the North and Western Parts of his Kingdom, that he first got a Guard to secure his Royal Person against any sudden Insult, and at last drew together, beyond what his Enemies expected or fear'd, a Body of Men, who had the Face of an Army, tho' far inferior to that of the Rebels, and tho' he had neither Arms to furnish them with, nor Money to pay them.

All this, notwithstanding, like common Prostitutes, they cry'd Whore first; and when they themselves had an Army, and all Things brought in with abundance of forward Zeal and Eagerness, by Virtue of the seditious Harangues of the Calamy's, and Case's, or Caryl's, at Guild-Hall, who laid out their mischievous Eloquence, to calumniate their Sovereign, and the reform'd Church of England, under his Protection, and to fright the poor ignorant Multitude out of their Wits; and the poor King had none at all, and had been refus'd Entrance into his own Town of Hull, where he had a good Magazine of Arms and Ammunition of his own; they honestly voted, 'That the King, seduc'd by evil Counsel, had withdrawn himself from his high Court of Parliament, intending to raise War against them;' when all which that pious and excellent Prince sought for, was only Peace, and when they themselves did not believe he was capable either of raising, or of arming any considerable Forces. Here then, by arming against their Sovereign, and that when he had redress'd all their Grievances, and had granted them more Privileges and Advantages than the most popular of his Predecessors had ever done, from the Conquest to that Day, they commenc'd open Rebels; they, as Traitors, met their Sovereign in the Field; and while, in
their

their *General's Commission*, they pretended a particular Respect to his Person, they levell'd their undistinguishing Artillery principally at that particular Part of the Field where they knew him to be; but the gracious Providence of his God was a better Protection to his Royal Person, than their hypocritical Commission.

Now, *Rebellion* either against God himself, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, as well as against his *Vicegerents and Representatives here on Earth*, is, according to Scripture, as the *Sin of Witchcraft*, i. e. they who are guilty of it, renounce God and all their Affiance in, and Dependance on him, and put on the *Atheist* as really and entirely as they do, who in a solemn Manner devote their Souls to the Devil, by declaring themselves Enemies to their Maker; they set up their own *bellish Principles*, pick'd up from such as say in their Hearts, *there is no God*; and as for the Oracles of the true God, they cast them altogether behind their Backs, and wrest, and twist and turn them, since they can't blot them out of that which all Christians call the *Book of God*, till, with those of the Church of Rome, they have made Scripture a *Nose of Wax*, a *Boot for any Foot*, or what themselves please; and whoever among those who assume the Office of *Pastors and Governors in the Church of Christ*, maintain the *Lawfulness of Rebellion against rightful Princes*, whether under the Title of *Coercion, Deposition, Abdication*, or downright *Murder*, or will perswade the World that *Sovereign Princes*, by every Exercise of *Power* beyond what the *Letter* of the Law will bear, do *depose or abdicate* themselves from their own *Sovereignty*; which was, in effect, what *shameless Cook*, both in his *traiterous Charge against Charles the first*, and in his *Vindication of it*, and *Bradshaw*, in his *illegal and impudent Harangue* at the Trial of that Great Prince, urg'd. All such, let 'em pretend what they will, of an Eye to the publick Good in such Determinations, are in the Sense, both of the *Roman* and the *English Laws*, if *Subjects born, or Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, Traitors and Rebels*; and as such *Rebellions* always involve the Countries concern'd in *Foreign* or in *Civil Wars*, they are of much more mischievous and fatal Consequence, than all the *illegal or tyrannical Actions* of a single Person can be. This the Experience of all Countries proves; and whoever moves such *Rebellions*, and lays the *Foundation of such Civil Wars* on the *Pretence* of remedying the most apparent *Grievances* in the World, that Person

is justly damn'd; he's guilty of certain Evil, on Pretence of doing uncertain Good; which neither the Doctrine of the Gospel, nor of any truly Evangelical Preacher, ever allow'd; and the Safety of the whole is in infinitely greater Danger when a *Marinus*, a *Sylla*, or a *Cynna*, or a *Catiline*, raise or carry on a Civil War; or when a *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Cade*, take upon them to be publick Reformers, than any People can suffer under the most extravagant Tyrannies of a *Caligula*, a *Nero*, a *Domitian*, a *Julian*, a *Russian Wasilowick*, or an English *Richard the third*, as any who are acquainted with our own or foreign Histories, must needs acknowledge; and this is the more manifest, because every Rebellion is accompany'd

2. With abominable Perjuries. A thinking Rebel, when he draws his Sword against his rightful Sovereign, must throw away the Scabbard, say the Men of Politics. He can't reasonably expect Mercy, therefore he must fight it out to the last, either die or conquer, as *Sa'ist* and *Florus* tell us; that every one almost of *Catiline's* Followers, in the Battle with the Consul *Antonius*, cover'd the same Spot of Ground when he fell down dead, which he stood on desperately fighting before. Those who reduce themselves to this Necessity, must not trouble themselves about the Obligation of Oaths, tho' drawn up in the strictest Terms which any Language can afford. Thus we are told, that Custom-house Oaths among Merchants, are only Matters of Course, and very few think them to be of Force enough to hinder Traders from cheating the Government; and our modern Politicians make Oaths and Abjurations with Respect to Princes, much of the same insignificant Nature. And upon such Principles went the Rebels of Forty one; not one Commoner enter'd into the lower House of Parliament, but who had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to *Charles the Martyr*; not one of those who countenanc'd taking up the Sword against him, either in Vote or Action, but broke it; not one address'd him, but who own'd himself his most faithful and loyal Subject; not one of those who took up Arms against, and sought his Life, but who prov'd himself, according to the Laws then in being, a perjur'd Rebel, and a Traitor. They swore, That they believ'd him to be the sole supreme Power both of Church and State; they impiously robb'd him of his Supremacy in both; they declar'd to King and People, that it was not so much as in their Thoughts to loosen the golden Reins of Government and Discipline in the Church; but they gave not over 'till they had entirely overturn'd it, and

'till they had sworn falsely, making a *Covenant* entirely to root out that sacred *Form of Government*, which *Christ* only and alone had appointed in his Church. They often appeal'd blasphemously to God, the great Searcher of Hearts, and to the poor deluded *Multitude*, who neither knew *theirs*, nor *their own*, as to the Sincerity of their Intention to make that King the greatest, the richest, and the most glorious King who ever sway'd the English Scepter; but they actually stript him of all his Regalia, of all his royal Revenue; hunted him for a long Time, as a Partridge in the Mountains, 'till at length he was unhappily taken in their Nets; and then they stript him of his precious Life in the most barbarous and unparallell'd Manner that was ever heard of in any precedent Age or Nation: And was it possible for any to be more horribly perjur'd before God, than those harden'd Wretches were?

We have¹ a great many Sermons preach'd before the two Houses, by the Pulpit-Incendiaries of that Age, transmitted down to us: Mr. Baxter supposes them to be Discourses far beyond any Thing which the ancient holy Fathers of the Church had blest'd the World with since the Apostles Times. Those Sermons indeed run in a very different Strain from any Thing which either the Fathers or the Apostles have bequeath'd us; for there we find all the Arguments which the Sidneys, the Locks, the Burnets, the Bradburys, and the rest of that Crew, have rak'd together in Defence of Rebellion, and the Resistance of rightful Princes by Force; and they'll always be a Repertorium Acanonicum for the false Brethren, who are ever, Viper-like, tearing out the Bowels of their holy Mother, and prostituting her to the malicious Insults of numberless Sects and Parties. I find in those Discourses, perpetual Alarms to War, perpetual Calls of the poor unthinking Mob, to the Help of the Lord against the Mighty; Curses pour'd out against all such as did the Work of the Lord negligently, or who withheld their Swords from Blood; Exhortations to strike the Basilick Vein, and Assurances that there might be Peace as easily made between Heaven and Hell, or God and the Devil, as between the King, and what these bloody Zealots falsely call'd the Parliament, &c. But those Bel-weathers of Sedition never call'd upon the Peers to remember their Honours, and to shew a due Respect to the Fountain of it; nor upon the Commons, to look back upon their own Oaths to the King and Government, and not to break the Oath of God, by rising

up against their King ; for they had all taken these Oaths themselves, when they were ordain'd or instituted into any Benefices, and had broken thro' them all without any Scruple of Conscience ; no, they were so far from any such Fidelity to God, to the King, or to the Souls of those whom they pretended to instruct, that they perswaded Apprentices and Servants to leave their Places, and that Service they legally ow'd to their Masters that they might run into Rebellion against their King, and, if kill'd in that Sin, be damn'd for ever. And when that most gracious Prince had all the Foot of Essex's Army at his Mercy, and taking their Arms from them, gave them all their Liberty to return to their own Houses in Peace, only swearing, that they'd never bear Arms again against their Sovereign ; a Grace which they neither expected nor deserv'd ; these, worse than Popish Priests, by the Plenaty of their Power, absolv'd them all from that Oath, conjur'd them into the Rebel-Army again, and it was observ'd, that those Men fought with greater Animosity and Fierceness against their too merciful Prince afterwards, than they had done before. But indeed, when once the Subjects of that Age were grown Rebels, no Oaths would hold those who join'd them ; their Baptismal or Eucharistical Vows, if they ever had been baptis'd, or been Communicants, were trampled under Foot ; their formal Protestation was interpreted away, nay, and that precious Idol the Covenant, which had been so powerfully recommended by their Caryls, Calamys, Cases, Marshals, Owens, Goodwyns, and other Members of the Assembly of Divines, who were Missionaries into the Country and Armies, to carry on that hellish Work of Perjury, was thrown away by the prevailing Party among themselves with more Scorn and Contempt than all the Royal Messages for Peace had been before. And whether, for so great a Part of the Nation to be involv'd in damnable Perjury, for averting the imaginary Dangers of Religion, Liberty, and Property, was not doing Evil, that Good might come of it, I leave to all Christians to determine : But when the Rebels were once reconcil'd to Perjury, they presently fell,

3. Into abominable Sacrilege, one of those Sins which Scripture and Antiquity, Heathen, Jewish, and Christian, brand with all the ugly Characters which can be express'd. Cain is justly suppos'd to have been guilty of this Sin, because, if he had offer'd rightly, he had not rightly divided between his Maker and himself. Pharaoh King of Egypt, when influenc'd by the Counsels of inspir'd Joseph, would not

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of Schism, Heresy, Sedition, Rebellion, and Atheism: Conscience, unless it were Conscience of their own Wickedness, was no Cause of their Non-Conformity, upon the Restoration of the Government in Church and State; but it was a *personal Obstinacy in some*, and a *foolish Obsequiousness to their former Seducers in others*, which threw and kept them out of their *undeserv'd Preferments*; and methinks nothing's more ridiculous, than to read a Story of one of the *capital Boute-neus in the great Rebellion*, weeping as he pass'd along thro' the Ruins of London, after the terrible Conflagration of 66, who never shed, that we hear of, one *repenting Tear* for that infinitely more dreadful Conflagration which he and his *Fellow-Incendiaries* had rais'd thro' three, otherwise quiet and happy, Kingdoms, by their *seditionous Speeches and Sermons*. The Cry of Blood is still loud against them, and will never cease till Justice takes Place, at least, upon the Followers of their Principals. Now, to murder Princes, Nobles, and inferior Persons, without Distinction, with the Excuse of only endeavouring to retrieve suffering Religion, Liberty, and Property, is, at least, doing Evil, that Good may come of it; the Damnation of all which Kind of Teachers and Practitioners is just.

5. Those who, being Rebels against their lawful Princes and Governors, are dipp'd in Perjury, Sacrilege, and Murder, have no Way to support themselves in their Extravagancies, but by adding Sin to Sin, by breaking thro', and setting at nought, all the establish'd Laws both of God and Man; for when they have resisted them who are the Ordinance of God, and have, unless God give them the Grace of sincere Repentance, incur'd Damnation to themselves, and seem contented with the Purchase, they have nothing else to stand in Fear of. Charles the Martyr was, as their blasphemous High Court of Justice declar'd him, a Tyrant, a Traitor, and a Murderer, Titles very inconsistent with his real Character; but whether they believ'd themselves or no, they, instead of easing the People from any such Injustice as they said they had suffer'd under him, resolv'd to out-do him in every Particular; they were avow'd and notorious Traitors, in making Addresses to the French King, and begging Protection from him, a Papist too, against their own natural Protestant Sovereign, and in entertaining an Agent from Cardinal Richlieu in Edinburgh, and admitting him into all their secret Counsels for the Establishment of the Reformation: They were Traitors, for holding Correspondence with the Rebels of another Kingdom,

dom, and inviting *Foreigners* (for such the *Scots* then were) to invade their native Country. They were *Traitors* for shutting the *Gates* of his own Town and Fort of *Hull* against their Sovereign. They were *Traitors* for murdering *Canterbury* and *Strafford*, against all the *Laws* of *England*, by a barbarous *Confederacy*, to have their *Lives* sacrific'd, at any Rate, to the unjust *Malice* of their *Brother-Rebels* the *Scots*, and paying them so profusely for that trayterous *Invasion* which they had made. They were *Traitors* for making a counterfeit *Great Seal* for coining *Money* of their own, and usurping to themselves, without any *Pretence* or *Countenance* of *Law*, all the *Royalties* of the *Imperial Crown* of *England*; and, lest they should fail in any *Respect* of being accomplish'd *Villains*, to give no more *Instances*, in washing their sacrilegious *Hands* in the *Blood* of their most excellent and *Christian Prince*.

That they might out-do all those *Instances* of *Tyranny* they charg'd their *King* with, they invaded all the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the *Subject*; they affronted their *King* in almost every *Motion* they made, and charg'd him with *Tyranny* where he had gone according to *Law*, with the most unblameable *Exactness*. They insulted the *House of Lords*, vacated their most positive *Orders* with *Contempt* and *Scorn*; terrify'd the *Bishops* from attending the *Service* of their *House* by their manag'd *Mobs*; chang'd the whole *Constitution* of an *English Parliament*, by excluding them, first from the *House of Lords*, of which they were an essential *Part*, and then tyrannically imprisoning them, and afterwards stripping them of all they had, which look'd very like an *Invasion* of *Property*. As many *Members* as they could get any *Advantage* against, for their *Honesty* and *Fidelity* to their *Prince* and *Country*, they turn'd out of the *House*; and by the *Assistance* of a *mercenary Army*, secluded all such as could not come up to the utmost *Extravagancy* of their *Measures*. They affrighted the *Lay-Lords*, by their manag'd *Mobs*, to consent to those *Things* which in *Reason* and *Honour* they were bound to oppose; and, at last, as they too well deserv'd for their *Indifferency* in defending their *Sovereign*, and the fundamental *Constitution* of *Church* and *State*, voted their *House* useless and dangerous, and so discharg'd them of all *Attendance* on the *Publick*. And when, by barbarous *Tumults*, they had driven away the *King*, and none had any *Commission* from him to pass an *Act*, they set up themselves for *Dictators*, vacated all former *Laws*, according to which the whole *Tenour* of their *Proceedings* were *High-Treason*,

son, and made their Ordinances to pass for Acts of Parliament; all which were treasonable too, and *ipso facto* void and null. ' For any Assembly of Men, among whom the King is not ' either in Person, or by Commission, who are not freely chosen to represent them by their Country, who are not, when ' they meet together, exactly obedient to the King's Laws, ' or act any Thing against his legal Interests, or the Interests of the Nation, or meddle with those Affairs which fall ' not under their Cognizance, either by Statute-Law, or by ' Usage of Parliament; all such Assemblies are no better ' than downright Riots or tumultuous Assemblies; their Actions ' or Resolutions oblige no Body, but are all, in the Eye of the ' Law, treasonable and void, as the Gentlemen of the long Robe very well know, and as was sufficiently made out at the Tryal of the Regicides.

But the Managers of the great Rebellion, when they were only such a riotous Assembly, laid what Burdens they pleas'd upon their Brethren, such Taxes as no Kings of England ever dream'd of, monthly Assessments, Sequestrations, Decimations, Sales of King's and Church Lands, Moal Money, Composition Money, and all with that inexorable Severity, that they who were too poor to lend their gracious Sovereign 100000 Pounds, were, by their worse than Egyptian Task-masters, forc'd, under their Government, to pay no less than forty Millions Sterling, for the Ruin of their King, their Laws, themselves, and their unhappy Country: Fining, Imprisoning, Executing, were then put in Practice at another Rate than ever had been under the Severities of the Star-Chamber or High-Commission-Courts. All were fain to submit to free Quarter, and perpetual Plunderings; no Man could say that any Thing he had, was his own, and the Castle of his House was as little a Security to him, or his Family, as Salisbury-Plain, or New-Market Heath. But as for the Scots, who had led the Way in that fatal Rebellion, and the Irish, who had been such Favourites with the Faction here, for their Help to destroy the great Earl of Strafford, and such merciless Agents in the inhuman Massacre and Rebellion in their own Country, that God, to whom Vengeance belongs, in a few Years, gave them Blood plenteously to drink, for they were worthy; and for our own Country-men, who were not contented to be free Subjects under the easiest of Governments, and the best of Princes, they soon became un pity'd Slaves to a sinking Rump, a Herd of enthusiastical and insatiable Wolves, and to an arbitrary and unsparing Tyrant from among themselves, whose strange Success in the Pro-

secution of his ambitious Aims, made him terrible enough to his foreign Neighbours, but much more so to his own Country-men, who lay like so many Larks under the Terror of the *Hobby*, and mov'd and complain'd in vain against the arbitrary Cruelty of the *unnatural Usurper*. But all which the three Nations suffer'd then for their *Rebellion, Perjury, and their other crying Sins*, was not enough to expiate their Guilt. The Blood which was shed in that infamous Defection from *their Duty to God and the King*, and, above all, that of the *Royal Martyr*, and their wicked Prosecution of his *Children and Family*, and the Continuance of those hellish Principles upon which the Sins of that Age were founded among the Men of no Religion, and of no Morals of our own, cry still aloud to Heaven in the same Terms as the Souls of them in the Revelation, who were slain for the Word of God, *Rev. 6. 8, 9*, and for the Testimony which they held, and lay, in Expectation of Justice, under the Altar, us'd — *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them who dwell on the Earth?* — It's true, the Royal Martyr imitated his blessed Master in his *Meekness and Patience* thro' all his mighty Sufferings, and in his *forgiving his foolish and unthinking Enemies*; but no Blood was ever expiatory for the Sins of them who shed it, but that of the incarnate Son of God; and the shedding of that too, where compleat Repentance did not meet his Father's Anger, fell so heavy upon the *Jews*, and their Children, that it brought *Wrath upon them to the uttermost*. And I make no Doubt but that Blood so unjustly shed in the last Age, notwithstanding the flourishing Appearance of the Favourers of their impious Principles, will be thoroughly visited, in God's due Time, upon their ungodly Heirs and Successors in this Generation.

It cannot be deny'd, but that the Practices I have instanc'd in the *Rebellion, Perjury, Sacrilege, Murders, Breach of all divine and human Laws, and universal Oppression* practised by the Enemies of our Church and State, or the Parliamentary Managers in 41, and which are so notorious as to be undeniable, were evil; but some will, it may be, suppose, as I intimated before, that those very evil Actions were sanctify'd by that great and publick Good which the Actors in them aim'd at. To coerce, to prosecute, to unking, to disinherit, nay, to make sure Work, to murder a Prince, tho' reigning by never so just a Right, who was a Favourer of, or one who design'd to introduce Popery, who frequently

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encroach'd upon the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*, was a Work importing so much Good to the Subjects of these Nations, that, tho' God may damn them eternally, and very justly, yet these Men must be very ingrateful and hard-hearted, who won't, as our *English Legend Writer* expresses it, drop a Tear upon the Remembrance of the Funerals of so many Worthies [Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Cap. 16.] (for he himself can't forbear Apologizing for Bradshaw) in our Israel, (I suppose he means after they had forsaken the House of David, and the Temple at Jerusalem) bury'd at once in a common Grave; -- We'll leave this pious Work to the Calves-head Club Men, and to the religious Societies meeting in the Mug-Houses: But some of a better Character seem to allow what the Rebels of 41 did, so far as the setting aside Charles the 1st, of blessed Memory, when the Representatives of the People had once voted, that Religion, and every Thing that was dear to them, was in Danger; and that, tho' every Thing done on such an Occasion may not be strictly regular, and therefore evil, yet it may be necessary, as tending to secure the publick Good; and therefore whatever St. Paul's Opinion was, not only tolerable, but justifiable.

The Saxon Wittena Gemotes, and our latter Parliamentary Assemblies, are suppos'd the best Judges of what Princes, let their Rights and Titles be what they will, are best qualify'd to govern, as the two Estates were in 41, who, that they might disqualify their Prince, endeavour'd to represent him to the World as a Man of a very weak Understanding, and tainted in his Religion, and a Breaker of the Laws. But [See Dawson's Vindication, &c.] 'the Laws of the Country, and not the Rules of the Church, i. e. (the Rules of the Christian Religion, for I know of no other Rules the Church has) ought to be the Measure of the Magistrates Power; and consequently the Directors of the Subjects Duty. — And yet I remember that great Oracle of Law, Sir Edward Cook, lays it down as a Maxim, that, 'Whatever Law, or by what Authority soever enacted, is either contrary to Scripture, (which is 'Repertory of the Religion, and the sole Rule of the Church 'of Christ) or to the Principles of right Reason, that Law 'is of it self null and void: Which seems to be the juster Axiom of the two. But the former is suppos'd to be confirm'd by an Induction of Historical Instances, drawn up by one of the greatest Men this Nation ever had, [Stillington, Bishop of Worcester] to prove, that our Magnates and Parliaments always thought that they had Power to lay aside a King unfit to govern, and to take another in his Room, and

transfer their Allegiance to him, when they judg'd it for the publick Good. I'll take them as they are laid together in a late Pamphlet, only adding some Observations upon the Good procur'd to the Publick by such Measures; for if no Good to the Publick ever follow'd such Methods, it's enough to give us a shrewd Suspicion, that as God never blest'd them, those who pursu'd them, were not such wise Men, or true Lovers of their Country, as they pretended to be, or the deluded Multitude suppos'd them.

And first, we are told how the British great Men set aside *Vertigerne*, a very wicked Prince indeed, if *Historians* do him no Wrong, and substituted *Vortimer*, his Son, in his Room. *Vortimer*, tho' said to be a Prince of great Virtue, enjoy'd his Honour but a while, and his Father recover'd the Throne again; and *Vertigerne's* inviting the *Saxons* over to assist him against the *Scots* and *Picts*, was no uncommon Policy, tho' generally unfortunate; nor, it may be, so great a Crime as some of his great Men call'd it. As for *Abel-fane*, *Matth. Westminster* calls him, without any Hesitation, the eldest Son of *Edward the elder*; he tells us, indeed, afterwards, a *romanick* Story concerning his making away his Brother *Edwyn*, who was *Edward's* Son by his lawful Wife, and therefore had the true Right to the Crown; but how much Probability there is in that Tale, I leave others to judge; tho' perhaps *Bastardy* in *England*, as well as in *Normandy*, in those Days, might not be look'd upon as a Bar to Inheritance. As for *Eadred*, he was little more than Guardian to *Edwyn*, who govern'd but about ten Years, and then *Edwyn* succeeded young enough, and tho' he bears an ill Character, and *Dunstan*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*,* was his Back Friend; yet, for all his Folly, his great Men only parted the Kingdom of *Mercia* between him and his Brother *Edgar*; and he dy'd in Peace, as far as I can find, in the Possession of his own Part; but what Good his Subjects reap'd from that Partition, or his great Mens dividing that Kingdom between the Brothers, we are yet to seek; and it seems to me but an odd kind of Question at this Time of the Day.— How could there be any Dispute about the Succession between *Harold* and *Harde Knute*, the Sons of *Canutus the Dane*, when one was on the Spot, and had the Pope and Clergy on his Side, and the Means to make Friends of such as were willing to rebel against the right Heir, who was far enough off; and the same was the Case of the Sons of *Edmund Ironside*; it's an easy Matter to seize the Inheritance of another, when the right Heir is as a

* Great Saint in those Days.

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banish'd Man, and the ill Practices of the great Men in those Days did not make them a Whit the less perjur'd, because they never thought of it, and the publick Good gain'd by that Injustice, was the violent Usurpation of Harold, upon the Death of Edward the Confessor, whose Advancement to the Crown laid the Foundation of the Bloody Norman Invasion and Conquest.

After the Conquest, as Henry the first was an Usurper, by the Help of the great Men, upon the Rights of his elder Brother Robert, so he taught Stephen to practise the same Arts against his Daughter and Heir, Maud the Empress; and was not the publick Good wonderfully promoted by the Wars of Henry the first with his Brother, and the perpetual Broils of Stephen with Maud and her Son Henry? That Henry compromis'd the Matter with Stephen, without the Consent of his Mother, does not appear: If he did it without, and undutifully put her by her Right, neither he nor the Publick got any Good by it; his Troubles with Becket, and the Rebellion of his own Sons, deforming his Reign very much, and sufficiently revenging any Quarrel of his Mother; but that the Nobility in Stephen's Time should believe themselves not forsworn, upon transferring their Allegiance from Maud to Stephen, tho' the whole Nation wept Blood for it, was very strange, and tho' the Agreement of Stephen and Henry the second might tend to the publick Good, that arose from their Prudence, and not from the great Mens breaking their Oaths, and involving the whole Nation in Perjury; and sound Divinity never knew any Thing of such an equitable Sense to be put upon promissory Oaths, as might allow them to be laid aside, without either the free Consent of the Parties to whom they were made, or an utter Impossibility of performing them. Another Instance for the Lawfulness of transferring Allegiance from one Family to another, is given in the Disputes between the Houses of York and Lancaster. Henry the fourth, the Heir of the House of Lancaster, by Industry and Money, rais'd a Rebellion against Richard the second, over-reach'd him, depos'd him, and barbarously murder'd him; was not this a severe Visitation of the next Heir of Edward the Third, for his Usurpation of his Father's Throne, and permitting him to be basely murder'd by the Contrivance of Mortimer, who had debauch'd his Mother? The Parliament, doubtless for the publick Good, agreed well enough with Q. Isabel in her unnatural Wickedness, and went as freely into the Measures of Henry the fourth. I confess my self ready to think,

think, that after *Richard's* Death, the *Lancastrian Family* had the better Title to the Crown; and I observe, that they were always united with, and loving, and assistant too to one another, when those of the *House of York* were eminent for nothing but *Perfidy and Murder*: But, after the forc'd *Abdication* of *Richard*, was either *Henry* or the *Nation* the better, or the happier for it? *Henry the fifth* was brave, but very short-liv'd, and all his Conquests dy'd soon after him. *Henry the sixth* was a pious and excellent Prince, far from Cruelty or Ambition yet the latter Part of his Reign was troubled with *Rebellions* and *Civil desolating Wars*, and his *Grand-father's Treachery and Rebellion* was reveng'd in his *Deposition* first, and then in the cruel *Murder* of him and his Son by the *Duke of Gloucester*. Upon the Declension of *Henry's* Affairs, *Richard Duke of York* put in his Claim to the Crown: The *Parliament*, for the publick Good to be sure, fell in with him, the three *Henry's* were voted only reputed *Kings*, or *Usurpers*; *Richard* had more than once sworn *Fidelity* to *Henry*, but he broke his Oath, and paid his Life in the Field for his *Perjury*. On *Henry's* Murder, *Edward the fourth*, as Heir of the *House of York*, took the Crown, reign'd in a *licencious* Manner, left two Sons behind him, from whom a *Parliament* could easily transfer their *Allegiance*, and they were disinherited, and clandestinely murder'd by their Uncle, that Monster of Mankind, *Richard the third*; and was it not much for the *Nation's* Interest that so many Princes, so many of the Nobility, so many of the Gentry, and so many of the Commons, as our *Chronicles* report, lost their Lives in those *Civil Wars* between the two unhappily contending Families?

Upon the whole: All that I can observe, amounts to this, that every one laying Claim to the Crown, has pleaded a legal Right to the Succession; so *Henry the first*, *Stephen*, *Henry the fourth*, especially after *Richard's* Murder, *Edward the fourth*, *Richard the third*, *Henry the seventh*, whether their Claim was good and just or no, doubtless the three *Estates in Parliament*, examining Matters carefully and impartially, might know well enough; but I find that *Money* and the longest *Sword* made *Parliaments*, without any Regard to their Oaths, but only for their own Convenience, vote and unvote any Thing, as is particularly evident in the latter Part of the Reign of *Henry the sixth*, when they voted *Richard of York* the right Heir of the Crown, and *Henry* only a *de facto*, permissive King; upon
Richard's

Richard's Fall, he was the *rightful King* again; upon Edward the fourth's Success, Henry was an *Usurper*; upon his Restoration by Nevil, the great Earl of Warwick, Edward, was again become a *Rebel*; a *Traytor*, and an *Usurper*; all which was undone again upon the Defeat of Nevil, Henry's powerful Supporter; such steady Guides were the *Wisdom of the Nation*, and the *publick Good* they did, we should be glad to find out. While the three *Henrys* reign'd, and as the *Duke of York's Parliament* determin'd, were only Kings in Possession; yet, while they had the Sword in their Hands, it would have been hard to have found a *Judge* of Courage enough to have acquitted that Man, whom *they*, by their Counsel learned, should have charg'd with *Treason*, and prov'd them guilty of *plotting* against their Lives and Government. Cromwell had his Judges too, who could condemn *English Men* as *Traytors* against him, tho' he himself was the greatest Traytor of all the rest. And the *Rump* had their *High Court of Justice*, who could condemn the King himself for *Treason*, when he only was innocent, and every one of them Traytors in Grain, and some of them came to the Gallows, as their unquestionable Due, at last. But it would be worth while for the *Gentleman* to tell us, whether, if a *King de facto*, or merely by Possession, were not able to protect his Judges in giving Sentence upon any charg'd with *Treason* against him, from the Revenge of the *King de Jure*, or the *rightful Heir*, any of those Judges would think fit to condemn the reputed Traytor? As for a *Rule of Conscience*, it's not to be found in any *human Law*; Conscience can be founded upon nothing, but an *infallible Principle*, drawn from the plain Word of God. Whether breaking *Oaths* lawfully impos'd, and which may be lawfully kept, be *Perjury*, or not, I leave to any sober Man to judge: Whether Men may for-swear themselves without Sin, on Pretence of the publick Good, I leave to them too. To believe that the *major Part* of a *Parliamentary Assembly* may have very often involv'd this Nation in *Perjury* since the Conquest, is neither *Felony* nor *Treason* that I know of; nor can I imagine that these Nations would have got any Good in the Time of the great Rebellion, by transferring their Allegiance from Charles the first, their natural King, to Lewis the thirteenth of France, any more than they did by transferring it to the rebellious *Rump*, or to the Tyrant Cromwell. In short, the best I can make of all Pleas for breaking the *Obligation* of lawful promissory Oaths, amounts to no more than that *Passage of the Tragedian*, which is said to

to have been often in the Mouth of *Julius Caesar*, when he strain'd so hard to make himself the Head of the *Roman Commonwealth*. 'If Right or an Oath may be broken upon any Account, it must be for the getting of a Kingdom, in all other Cases the Rules of Piety ought to be observ'd; but *Julius Caesar*, unless in the *modern Sense*, was never thought a Man of a very tender Conscience.

They were *Doctrines* of this Nature, which put these unhappy Nations into a Ferment in the Beginnings of the great Rebellion, which levell'd the true Constitution of our *British Church and State* with the Ground, which dethron'd and murder'd the best of Princes, and made the three Kingdoms one great Field of Blood. They were not the *Vices or Impieties* of the *Sovereign*, nor any *Tyranny or Cruelty* of his, which involv'd the Nation in such unparallell'd Calamities; no; his *Virtues* delay'd those Vials of Wrath for a while, which were ready to have been pour'd out upon us, as the Life of good *Josiah*, for some Years, kept off the Destruction of the *Jewish Monarchy*: When *Charles* was murder'd, Hell broke loose, and accursed Spirits convers'd among us, even at Noon-Day; when, in a lucid Interval, we came to our selves, God in Mercy restor'd our Judges as at the first, and our Counsellors as at the Beginning; but when *Pride, and Fulness of Bread, and Forgetfulness of that God who had done so great Things for us*, prevail'd again, as if we thought our selves deliver'd only to commit all Manner of Abominations, God left us to return to our former Follies too; and we are every Day paying dear for our Inadvertencies; as the *Jews* thought they found some of the Dust of the golden Calf in all their after-Sufferings, so we may find some Drops of the Royal Martyr's Blood in all the Evils that have since come upon us. O! that we were wise, that we understood this, that we would consider our latter Ends, that we might purge out our wicked Principles, and so renounce and abjure our ungodly and rebellious Practices, that the bitter Mourning which this Day now calls for, might be chang'd into cheerful Feasting, and singing Praises to our God for his gracious turning his Hand upon us, and his purging out all our Dross, and taking away all our Tin. If God look not thus in Mercy upon us, we certainly perish, we all perish; if we will not honour him by doing Justice, by loving Righteousness, and walking humbly with him, he'll suddenly get himself Honour upon us in our final Destruction from his Presence. To prevent which effectually, what I say to you now, I say to all, Repent.